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## SPEECH OF HON. S. S. COX.

On Territorial Engansion; Delivered in the House of Representation of September 18, 1859. The House being in Committee of the Whole on the

Mr. CIMIEMANS I would not have sought the floor when I did, had I not been expecting daily a telegraphic despatch which would have called not home, and perhaps unfitted me for saying what I wished in relation to the

rial expansion.

There is a logic in history which is an inexocable as fate. A writer in the time of the first Steart gave as the number of the kingdoms of Christendom five-and-twenty. But there was no mention of three of the principal nations, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in their present condition; nor of twelve other nations out of the twenty now connected in Europe; nor of the thirty petty sovereignties now extant in Germany. Within two centuries the transatiantic continent has changed its territory and rulers beyond all the caprices of fancy; yet by a law as fixed as that which returns the seasons or rolls the

Pome of these changes in Europe have been through decay, dissolution, and disintegration. Spain was once the Peru and Mexico of the Old World. The ancestors of the Hidalgo were enstaved in the mines of Spain by Rouse and Cartinge. But now, Leon, Aragon, Castile, Navarre, Toledo, Galleia, and Granado, thee separate kingdoms, have lost their isolated glory, and are only known as the propo of the worm caten throne of Spain. The stronger races of Europe have consolidated their power by extending its sphere and absorbing the weaker neighboring nations. England, Ireland, and Scotland, by union, have transplanted their colonies and multiplied their strength; and Russia has chaped the half of Europe and Asia in its strong embrace, until, from the furthest West, we perceive the conflict of their civilization in the furthest East.!

These are but illustrations of a law from which America is not exempt. Not more surely will northern Afri-

sether the races of this continent be in a tribal con, as are our Indians in a semi-civilized and anarchical
tion, as are the Central and South American and
an races, they must obey this law of political gravia. This law drives them to the greater and more
slows State for protection, happiness, end advance. Whether the United States go and take them,
hey come and ask to be taken, no matter. They
whirl in; throw off their nebulous and uncertain
, and become crystalized into the higher forms of
pation.

That no nation has the right to hold soil, virgin and rich, yet unproducing; no nation has a right to hold great isthmean highways, or strong defences, on this continent, without the desire, will, or power to use them. They ought, and must, inure to the advancement of our com-

upon our south. Not New Granada—she will come in time. Not Venezuela—she is even yet more vital than New Granada; but the country north of these, and lying between them and us, must be absorbed. For this ab-

## The Washington Anion.

## WASHINGTON CITY, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1859.

de texe, rivaling that of cotton, and diverting from it to much labor that cotton would rarely be below its present price."

This objection is two-fold. The inter-State slave trade with Cuba, in case of annexation, he thinks, would make several free States, by the demand and consumption of negroes; and, even if it would not, Cuba would not give the South the preponderance in the Union; and, secondly, sugar, he thinks, would be cheap to the whole Union in the bounty they now get, would be ruined. As to the argument about Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland becoming free through Cuban annexation, I leave that to the members from those States. As to the sugar, I say, that an argument of that kind addressed to a free-trade people by a free-trader should go far to weaken the morale of his great and frank speech as it does the economy of his politics. To the people of my State such an argument will quicken their ambilion to acquire Cuba; not alone because of the millions to be gained by an increase of our exports thither, which are taxed prohibitively, but because we pay a tax on Cuban sugar which is harsb, protective, and indefensible in any epoch of a depressed or expective, and indefensible in any epoch of a depressed or expective and independent condition which they had maintain, are henceforth not to be cousiets for future colonization or influence be pain power.

Let controversy contend as to the members from those States, As to the sugar, I say, that an argument of that kind addressed to a free-trade people by a free-trader should go far to weaken the morale of his great and frank speech as it does the economy of his politics. To the people of my State such an argument will quicken their ambilion to acquire Cuba; not allowed the morale of the morale of the members from these States, As to the sugar, I say, that an argument of that kind addressed to a free-trade people by a free-trader should go far to weaken the morale of his great and frank speech to limit the application on our Northwest. But the declaration me the cativing out these designs, we have, from time to the cause we have at ax on Cuban sugar which is harsh, time, added territory from France, Spain, and Moxico, other calculus of France, Spain, and especially of England, has prevented. It is not my purpose now to reheave our out, 4.46 worth. The tariff on these sugars was \$12.028, history in this regard. We may have kept step with our

prevented. It is not my purpose now to renearse our history in this regard. We may have kept step with our interests and our destiny; but at this juncture, standing on the threshold of this new year, we are only marking time, not moving forward. It is well to inquire whether there is not now upon us, as the assembled expression of this nation, a peculiar duty with respect to this element of our pregress. My judgment is, that we are to-day derelict. We are not up to the enterprise of the nation. If we consider just now the elements of our people, martial, mechanical, intellectual, agricultural, and political, who will doubt but that there are a dozen locomotive republics already fired up and ready for movement?

The Executive has done his duty. He has boldly followed out his Ostend ideas. He has urged upon us a duty, which, being undone, leaves him powerless, and leaves the national enthusiasm and expansion a prey to adventurous raids and sectious propagandists. Had the Thirty-fourth Congress aided President Pierce In the Black Warrior matter, we should now have representatives from Cuba on this floor.

The President has called our attention to the territory upon our south. Not New Granada—she will come in time. Not Venezuela—she is even yet more vital than the Country north of these, and lying "But," it is said, "we must protect Texas and Lou-

she is even yet more vital than stence.

She is even yet more vital than country north of these, and lying must be absorbed. For this absiana in their few sugar plantations! If Cuba comes in, way goes the tax!" Every man, woman, and child in my State will say: "Every man, woman, and child in my State will say: "Away with it! Welcome Cuba and my State will say: "Away with it! Welcome Cuba and my State will say: "But" says the genetor, "if Cuba be

or if Cube were annexed, this consumption, as it is estimated by our scoroomists, would be a million of barrels it would be anjoyened by use scales when your series of the former of the consequence of the consequence of the series of the former of the consequence of the conseque

bear.

The truth is, that we have slept so long, and dreamed so transportingly of our destiny over these regions, that meanwhile Japan and China are opened; Frazer's river becomes an Elderado; and English and French mavies, quitting the attempt on Cronstadt, and tiring of the red storm of the Euxine, display their guns on this continent. Their estente cordiate, as Clarendon said it would be, is extended to this hemisphere; and here we have them! They are, by their presence, if not by their diplomacy.

Yet this doctrine is sneered at as if Monroe's ghost

And the context of the season is to be founded adjusted. The context of the season is the season of the little of the context of the season of the little of Series Grander is the Grander's profit of these and lying between there and the must be shoulded. For this absorption, but with Spail, France, and England, and how are no interests with Spail, France, and England, and how are no interests of the control of the should be absorption, but with Spail, France, and England, and how are no interests of the control of the

trade of all tropical America, would then fall to us naturally by our proximity, and by the variety of our productions with which to barter. These tropical wastes ought to give us coffee, indigo, and cocos, which are falling in India, as well as the cabinet woods, so much in demand. In return, they will take our flour, pork, machinery, fabrica, and a thousand other articles which they need, and which evry State of this Union produces. Our trade, which now counts its hundreds, will then count its

True, she has six million Indians, with Spaniards in plenty and pride, and of mixed people not a few. But are they werse than the Indians of our own soil? On the contrary, they are far better. They are tractable, stout, and laborious. Spain managed them with but a handful of soldiers for three hundred years. She managed them, too, under every provocation to revoit. Had an American protectorate been the sequence of Scott's occupation, a few months of protection would have given their industry its reward and peace its blessing. Then, too, we should have no apprehension to disturb our present relations with Mexico.

ent relations with Mexico.

To these relations I propose to call the attention of the House. In the discussion I need only remark, historically, that on the discovery of this continent there was but one nation in North and one in South America which seemed to be possessed of any civilized advancement. Peru, under the Incas, whose white robes betokened the almost divine simplicity of the people; and Mexico with a society that was Arcadian in its simplicity and a polity wonderful in its complications. The State, the priesthood, the cultivators of the soil, he rulers, and the ruled of Mexico, lived in peace under a lovelier sky than that historic life as the Declaration of Independence, which was its procreant source. That doctrine is the law of self-preservation. General Cass, in his recent letter, has given it proper direction. That doctrine was intended to guard this continent against the incursion of any alliances, "holy" or unholy. It looked to that law which I have laid down, by which the interests and honor of this hemisphere were to be guarded by none but ourselves. We do not want to be foreclosed against its occupation, fortification, and annexation. In the present feeling of this country no treaty can be made and made to stand if it does not break down all pretectorates of England and all interference of France. The Senate of the United States dare not confirm such a treaty. The present Ex-

the necessary power to take possession of any portion of Mexico as a pledge for the settlement of our claims.

I say that I am ready to vote for such reprisal or occupation. But I have considered these parties in Mexico with the view of qualifying this declaration. I believe that it would be best at once to recognise the Juarez constitutional government by the most solemn assurances of sympathy and protection. The late news makes this step imminently urgent. This can be done, first, by the prompt recognition of Mata, who is here seeking such recognition; second, by the sending of a naval force to the Gulf, where we are unrepresented. This force should be accompanied by a commissioner to treat with the Juarez government; to counteract the influence of the allied fleets now aiding Miramon and Robles, and threatening Juarez; and with the latter to cement an alliance, and to obtain such a settlement of our claims and difficulties as will comport with our interest and honor. I have the surest authority for saying that such an arrangement would give us not only a firm union with Mexico, not only postal and extradition and right-of-way treaties, not only a foothold in the northern Mexican States, which can be made permanent without war, but it would foil every attempt of the European alliance to control the affairs of Mexico. It would crush the Robles-Miramon government, elevate and organize the democratic American sentiment, and give us an alliance of peace, which is the precursor of a magnificent commerce!

If, however, we seize Sonora and Chihuahua, without an understanding with the constitutional government, what will be the result? Poor and miscrable as is the condition of Mexico, she would likely declare war. Such a declaration would come from the Robles-Miramon faction. It would farm to that faction the strength of the nation. It would, perhaps, crush Juarez and his party, and leave us no better off than if we had pursued a more politic and pacific course.

Again, if we delay to recognise the constitutional gov

ernment, it will soon be in power at the capital as it is in the provinces. It can then say to us, "Oh, yes, you would not help us in our extremity, when your advantage should have prompted you, and your sympathy would have been of service. We can get along without your aid

now. Touch not a foot of our soil on the penalty of an endless difficulty.
Wisdom, interest, the law of American progress, and the predominance of our Union on this continent, all urge the course I have indicated. Juarez waits our action. Shall we miss the golden opportunity?

If we fail in our efforts with him, then I am willing at once to take Sonora and Chihuahua, whichever party success.

I believe that the list of American claims and cruelties, which has even provoked the English press to wonder at our forbearance, is warrant enough for such possession. There are even yet higher grounds for such seizure. The French Minister, De Gabriac, rules in the Miramon councils. A French fleet rides before Sacrificios. The French admiral was very ready to back Spain in her demands.

discuss it further. The contest now is between the dem